

THE STANDARD

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"The Standard" is sent this week to a number of persons whose friends have paid to have the paper forwarded to them for four weeks in the hope that they may be induced to read it, examine the principles it advocates and become regular subscribers. Those who receive the paper without having ordered it will understand that it has been sent in this manner and will be sent for four successive weeks without charge to them.

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CONTENTS:

Prospects of the Election.
The Australian System and Governor Hill.
William Lloyd Garrison.
They All Got Scared.
Protection in Pennsylvania—the Sixth Meeting of the Single Tax Cleveland Men.
The Last Week.
Campaign Work of Single Tax Men.
Tom L. Johnson.
A Protectionist to a Certain Extent.
"A Tariff is Not a Tax."
Society Notes.
Men and Things.
Before the Battle (a poem).
Personal.
A Missionary in Pennsylvania.
Those Day Envelopes.
The Beating of the Drums.
Another Masterly Speech by William Lloyd Garrison.
A Woman's View of It.
Queries and Answers.
Current Thought.
The "Press" Again.
New Ideas, Methods and Inventions.

THE STANDARD of next week may be a day late in reaching its subscribers, as we shall delay one day in going to press in order to get the result of the election.

In response to the friends who have written me asking my opinion as to the result, I can only answer in this way: I think, as I thought in the beginning, that Cleveland and Thurman will be elected. So far as my observation and information go, they will carry New York, New Jersey, Indiana, and I think, Connecticut, California and Michigan. There is hope also that they will carry Illinois, and, it may even be, one or two of the northwestern states, while in the republican states the majorities will be reduced. This is my judgment dissociated as far as possible from my wish. However, in another week we shall know. I shall not be surprised if the result exceeds our most sanguine expectations. It is certain that the current is running strongly for Cleveland, and running more strongly every day.

I say this as a matter of courtesy to the friends who have asked my opinion, and hope they will take it as a reply to their letters. But our business is to do what we can for the election of Mr. Cleveland regardless of our anticipations. What concerns us is not the election of a man, but the promotion of a principle. The more decisive the victory is, the clearer will it show that the protection superstition has lost its hold on the American people, and the more powerfully will it open the way for bolder advances on the road to freedom. Even in states which there is no hope of carrying our friends should neglect no effort to swell the returns for Cleveland. For our purposes the popular vote will tell as strongly as the electoral vote. The campaign now closing has done more for the economic education of the American people than any in the history of the republic. The larger Cleveland's majority the stronger the impulse that will be given the movement—the quicker and more numerous will tariff reformers develop into free traders, and free traders into advocates of the single tax.

The first adoption of the Australian ballot in this country was by the legislature of Kentucky, in an act applying the system to municipal elections in Louisville. The bill was introduced by Representative Arthur Wallace of Louisville, and was approved by Governor Buckner on February 24, 1888. It took effect from and after its passage. The provisions of this act are essentially the same as those of the Massachusetts act and of the Yates-Saxton bill, which was vetoed by Governor Hill in this state. In some minor details, however, it more closely follows the English system. For instance, the ballots are to be printed with stubs and bound in books, the stubs forming a record of the votes cast. The clerk is required to enter the voter's name and residence on the stub, then tear the ballot off, write his own name on the back and hand it thus indorsed to the voter, to whom he must also hand an envelope or paper bag, in which the ballot is to be placed after being marked. The registration of candidates and the printing and custody of the books of stubs and ballots are placed in the hands of the mayor. A candidate for election to a ward office can be registered on the written petition of ten registered voters and the payment of \$5; a candidate for the city at large on the written petition of fifty voters and the payment of \$50. Nominations close ten

days before the election. The mayor is required to set up at each voting place wooden compartments, one for each 175 registered voters or fraction thereof. These compartments are to be six feet in height and about three feet square, one side to open and shut as a door, with a narrow shelf affixed to the opposite side. The clerk of each precinct is to put into each of these compartments lead pencils hung by strings. The voter, "when furnished with a ballot and envelope or bag, must step alone into one of the compartments and close the door behind him, and while within the same he shall put on his ballot, after each name of the candidates whom he prefers, a pencil mark in the shape of an oblique cross." Should he inadvertently spoil a ballot he may return it, and receive one other ballot, the spoiled ballot to be preserved by the clerk and the fact noted by writing the word "spoiled" on the stub. When a voter avows himself to be blind, and is found to be such by the concurrence of the judges of election and the sheriff of the precinct, the clerk is required to accompany him to one of the compartments and make the ballot at his dictation. It is provided that the voter shall not occupy the compartment more than three minutes. As he leaves it he is to hand his ballot, folded and within the envelope or paper bag, to the judges, who in his presence drop it into the ballot box, whereupon the voter is at once to withdraw from the room. It is also required that the voting place shall be so arranged as to leave a clear space of fifty feet between the inclosure in which the voting is done and those waiting their turns to vote, and the sheriff and police are required to keep all persons except the officers of election, those voting and the candidates or agents of candidates, at that distance from the inclosure. The next municipal election in the city of Louisville will take place on this system, and there can be no doubt that it will soon be adopted for the whole state. The bill does not say anything about illiterate voters, and at first blush it may seem as if no provision was made for their case, but it does require that the mayor shall have "the contents and form of the ballot in the exact shape and size in which it is to be used," published in one or more of the daily newspapers or in handbill form. By getting a friend to cut holes opposite the names of the candidates he wishes to vote for in one of these, fac similes, the illiterate voter or even the blind voter can readily mark the ballot as he wishes without calling in the aid of any one. This, of course, could also be done under the Saxton bill; for both parties would, undoubtedly, as in England, publish card fac similes of the ballots with their chosen candidates marked.

It is to be noted that, under the reasons assigned by Governor Hill for vetoing the Yates-Saxton bill, he would have vetoed the Kentucky bill, the Massachusetts bill, the English bill or the Australian bill—in fact any possible bill for carrying into effect the system. Governor Hill's objection is, in truth, not to details, but to principle. There is a great deal of opposition to the election of Governor Hill in Elmira, his own home, where corruption in politics has been open and shameless, and where he is regarded as fully identified with the whole system. The Tax reform club of Elmira has issued an appeal which it is sending to members of both parties, calling attention to the extent to which the corrupt use of money in elections in that city has grown, and inviting consideration of the following facts:

1. The Saxton electoral reform bill, which was passed by our state legislature, was introduced and urged forward by the concurrent action of labor assemblies. These men believed that if the purity of elections could be secured public questions might come to be decided upon their merits and the powerful would not so easily override the weak.
2. It is not claimed that this bill was perfect in every detail, but it was reasonably so. Its object was good. It was as perfect as is usual in new legislation.
3. It was the first and only attempt in this state to put the employer and the employee, the humble and the powerful, the honest man and the unscrupulous, on precisely the same equality of opportunity by security from intimidation at the polls.
4. This measure was vetoed by David B. Hill. His veto was based on technicalities; his objections were frivolous. He could have found just as good excuse, and better, for vetoing many bills approved by him.
5. David B. Hill, as governor, also prevented the bill which originated among the laboring men of this city, and which aimed to stamp out bribery at the polls, from becoming a law.
6. Chemung county is justly believed to be politically the worst debauched county in this state, or in the United States.
7. But this county never had this reputation until David B. Hill came to political chieftainship in our county politics and used vast sums of money in the open and shameless purchase of votes.
8. Governor Hill's political ambitions have been promoted and advanced by this whole sale corruption in his own county.
9. He refused to approve the only serious attempts that have been made to stop this cor-

ruption of the polls. He would not do his part toward stopping it.

20. Warner Miller stands on a platform distinctly adopting ballot reform. He is pledged to this reform both by his platform and by his public speeches.

The members of this club, representing all shades of political opinion, believe that the interests of pure elections and good government demand the defeat of David B. Hill at the polls. Let us have elections in which honest men cannot be outvoted by promise of political position or money. Do your duty on November 6.

But, not content with this, a number of public spirited citizens have determined to try and put a stop to corruption at the election on next Tuesday, when, owing to the efforts of Governor Hill to carry his own county, the purchase of votes threatened to be more extensive and shameless than ever. They have organized an anti-bribery society, of which Mr. Otto Weyer is president, J. D. W. Roberts secretary and D. F. Shay, treasurer. They have found such quick response from men of both parties whom they called on for the purpose that they have raised a fund sufficient to employ a large number of detectives, who will be scattered through the town on election day and whose instructions will be to look after, not so much the sellers of votes, as the buyers of votes. A large part of this fund has been contributed by men who have heretofore been in the habit of contributing to the corruption funds of the two parties, under the plea that it was necessary to "fight the devil with fire." They are going to try and secure for at least one election an honest vote in Elmira. The very agitation of this matter of bribery will induce the casting of many democratic votes against Governor Hill, as he is regarded in his own home as a typical representative of the system.

It would be unjust to Governor Hill to charge upon him alone the shameless bribery that of late years has become habitual in Chemung county, since corruption of the same kind, though perhaps not quite so open and extensive, prevails all over the state. But it is true, as the Elmira tax reform club say, that Chemung county never had such an evil reputation until David B. Hill became a leader in its politics, and the statement that he himself has used money in the open and shameless purchase of votes is amply borne out by the testimony.

I stopped a few hours in Elmira last Friday, and had some conversation with some of the active members of the anti-bribery organization, among whom was Mr. Rufus R. Wilson, associate editor of the Elmira Telegram, and an ardent supporter of Cleveland and Thurman. From them I learned a good deal concerning Governor Hill's connection with the purchase of votes, which ought, long ere this, to have been put in authoritative form and circulated extensively through the state.

Governor Hill came to Elmira about twenty-five years ago. Although a young man he had already distinguished himself by showing an unexpected mastery of the details of a case of which he was suddenly placed in charge by the absence of the senior lawyer who was to conduct it. Shrewd, careful, painstaking and industrious, he continued to add to his reputation as a successful lawyer, and began early to exhibit the same qualities in practical politics. The Third ward, in which he lived, was, at the time Governor Hill went into practical politics, strongly republican, many of the voters being colored. To overcome this majority Governor Hill commenced the purchase of votes. Going to the polls himself and buying votes in person he made the Third ward democratic and attracted the attention of politicians from all parts of the county, who admired his success without objecting to the means by which it was achieved. Finally the young politician obtained an election as state assemblyman. It was at the time that Tweed was struggling to control legislation for New York city. Assemblyman Hill became the political supporter and friend of Tweed, and as a reward Tweed purchased for him a controlling interest in the Elmira Gazette, which enabled him to further strengthen his hold on his party and to make his influence felt beyond the confines of the city and county. In the meantime as local boss he continued the system of purchasing votes, turning the actual work of vote buying in all the wards and townships except his own over to trusted lieutenants. He is credited by my informants with beginning in Chemung county the practice of keeping a list of the purchasable voters, and of making bargains with them before election, a practice that has ever since been kept up.

When Governor Hill began his career as a practical politician by going to the

polls in the Third ward of Elmira and buying up voters, the prices he paid were very moderate, being in most cases only one or two dollars. But as the practice has grown, the purchasable element has increased, and the price of votes has steadily risen. I mentioned in THE STANDARD a year ago that I had been told while in Elmira of votes bringing as much as thirty dollars apiece, but Mr. Wilson tells me that in the election in which Governor Hill ran for his present position, forty, and even forty-five, dollars a vote was paid.

After serving in the assembly and getting possession of the Elmira Gazette, Governor Hill became an alderman and then secured the nomination for mayor. Samuel J. Tilden, it is said, sent him a check for five thousand dollars to help his campaign. Besides this, he collected other funds, and putting his money "where it would do the most good," he was readily elected. Even when he had secured the nomination for the office of lieutenant governor on the ticket with Mr. Cleveland, he did not stop the practice of personally buying votes in his own ward, and citizens of Elmira had presented to them the edifying spectacle of the democratic candidate for the second highest office in the state standing at the polls in the Third ward from the time the ballot box was opened until it was closed, buying the votes of all who were willing to sell.

In 1884, when Governor Cleveland was candidate for president, my informants say that Governor Hill was unable to obtain funds from the democratic state and national committees, and, not feeling like contributing from his own resources, very few votes were bought in Elmira for the democratic ticket, the consequence being that Blaine carried Chemung county by 479 majority, and the whole republican local ticket was elected, a thing that had not happened in years. But in 1885, when Governor Hill became the candidate for the governorship, he evidently determined that the experience of 1884 should not be repeated. Three or four days before election he came to Elmira, bringing, it is said, a corruption fund amounting to \$45,000, of which the money obtained on his note by the indorsement of "product contractors" was probably a part. Though up to this election he had not scrupled to go to the polls and buy votes in person, it is due to him to say that a somewhat tardily awakened sense of propriety kept him at this time, when actually governor of the state, somewhat in the background. He did not at this election buy votes at the polls in person, but on the preceding Sunday night summoned his henchmen from the county districts outside of the city to his law office, and distributed among them fifteen thousand dollars in new and crisp two, five and ten dollar bills. The next night his city lieutenants were called to his office, and twenty-five thousand dollars more in the same kind of money was distributed to them, five thousand dollars being reserved for contingencies. With this great corruption fund scattered through a small town the amounts offered for votes proved a grateful surprise to even the most greedy "floaters." It was, in fact, so large that some of the more conscientious of the deputy vote buyers could find no use for all the money that had been put in their hands. Mr. Wilson told me of one of these who, after the closing of the polls, came back to the governor and handed him several hundred dollars of the sum that had been given him the night previous. "Bill," the governor is reported to have said, as he received the money, "I hate to see this stuff come back. It makes me feel as though you had not done all you could for me." At this election the "floaters" of Elmira almost floated in money. Four thousand dollars was spent in the Fourth ward alone, and a sum even larger in the governor's own ward, the Third. Votes were purchased on the streets as openly as any article of merchandise, and republican heeled were given as much as one hundred dollars apiece simply to stay away from the polls. As a result Chemung county testified to its high esteem for Governor Hill and the sort of democratic principles he represents, by giving to him one of the largest majorities ever given in the county.

In 1887, Governor Hill came home to Elmira on the Saturday preceding election, and as before, my informants say, brought with him a corruption fund. As the election was not important, this corruption fund was not so great as two years before, amounting only to twenty-five thousand dollars, but it was used as openly and as shamelessly as in 1885. Governor Hill did not go to the polls except to vote, but remained in his law office all day in charge of that part of the corruption fund that had not been dealt out to his henchmen on the night before,

they having been instructed ever the funds in their hands ran low to come to the governor.

The polling place in the upper district of the Fourth ward of Elmira is at the city hall. The vote buyer for that polling place at the last election was a staunch friend and ex-partner of Governor Hill's. On the one side of the passage in the city hall is the office of the chief of police and police headquarters, on the other side is the court room. At the end of the passage is a stairway leading to the upper story. Under this stairway, which a gentleman of the Anti-bribery association of Elmira took me to see as one of the notable places of the town, Governor Hill's friend stood all day at the last election. His position put him within forty feet of the ballot box and but a few feet from the sanctuary of justice on one side and the police office on the other. Here he paid out to the men who were properly certified to as having voted the ballot that had been placed in their hands, the agreed price for their suffrages. The money was inclosed in sealed envelopes. But, so unblushing has bribery become in Elmira, that the majority of "floaters" when they received the envelopes tore them open and counted the money to see that they had not been deceived. The torn envelopes were in most cases thrown upon the floor, which became white with them, and when night came over two hundred of these torn envelopes were gathered up by the janitor of the building.

Governor Hill has of course not confined his corrupt use of money to the purchase of votes at general elections. The man who will buy votes in elections will not hesitate to buy votes in a primary or a convention. In this way Governor Hill has imposed his will on his party and more than a dozen times dictated the nomination of city and county candidates. Only a few weeks ago, my Elmira friends told me, he spent some \$1,500 through his law partner and trusted lieutenant, Judge William L. Muller, to secure the democratic nomination for sheriff for one of his retainers.

I speak of these things because the ought to be known, but with no bitterness toward Governor Hill. Though he has organized corruption, and has bought his way up to the highest office in the state, he is not a sinner above other men. Though he has made a practice of going to the polls and buying votes with his own hands, or sitting in his office and parceling out corruption funds, he does not seem to me a whit worse than the highly respectable citizens who when seeking office pay assessments and make contributions which they well know are to be used for vote buying. Mr. Hill was an ambitious man, who saw that the way to power and honor was by means of "practical politics," and being, as Mayor Hewitt said of himself two years ago, "not so impracticable as to refuse the methods by which society at any given time is governed," he has made the corruption of elections a stepping stone to the highest honors of the state. His conscience is the conscience of the school in which he learned and taught, and it is probable that he sees no more harm in buying a vote than in buying a cigar.

But in this election Governor Hill stands as the representative and defender of the system. He has done more than to buy votes, to corrupt politics and to demoralize and degrade his fellow citizens under laws which offered great temptations to bribery. He has as governor used his official power to prevent the beneficial change in the law which would have done away with bribery and intimidation in elections. To Governor Hill, and to Governor Hill alone, is due the fact that there is not on our statute books to-day an act which, after this year, would make the corruption and intimidation of voters as much a thing of the past in this state as it now is in Great Britain and Ireland.

Governor Hill has not only availed himself of a corrupting system of elections, but he has prevented its reform. All other considerations ought to be cast aside. A vote for David B. Hill is a vote for the systematic corruption of the ballot. A vote against him is a vote for its purity.

In Elmira Governor Hill has pursued the same policy that he has in this city—of attaching to himself the men he supposes to have influence among labor organizations by gifts of position and money. But as well as I can discover the body of Elmira workmen, as of all honest citizens, look upon him with the utmost distrust. The sentiment against him has become open and pronounced since he at

the last session prevented from becoming a law the anti-bribery bill which originated among the labor organizations of Elmira, and since he afterward vetoed the Saxton electoral reform bill, in which they saw a cure for the shameful state of things which has disgraced Chemung county.

We print in this issue of THE STANDARD a full report of William Lloyd Garrison's noble address at the Philadelphia single tax Cleveland and Thurman meeting. Mr. Garrison has also written a letter to Sherman Hoar in support of Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, whom the democrats have nominated for congress in the Fifth Massachusetts district, and who is running as an avowed free trader against General Banks. The letter, like the speech, is of peculiar interest to republicans who, conscious that the position of the republican party in this campaign is opposed to the principle that once made it glorious, still find it hard to break the bonds of old associations. Mr. Garrison says:

MY DEAR MR. HOAR—I confess to an exceptional interest in the election of Colonel Higginson from the Fifth district. The contest is a peculiar one. A large number of colored voters are to help to determine the result, and both sides are making strenuous efforts to gain their votes. The candidates are as well known in this city as the state house.

A single argument covers the reason for choosing General Banks—he has the nomination of the republican party. That is sufficient to persuade Frederick Douglass that if he had 100 votes to cast he would throw them for the general. Character, fitness and the nature of the issue have no weight with him. Colonel Higginson has everything that his opponent lacks—a background of life long devotion to the colored race, an equipment for grappling with the questions pressing for national legislation, and a habit of independence that subordinates party to principle. The single reason given for opposing him is that the democratic party nominates him.

There should be no need of recalling to the colored citizens of Boston the services of Mr. Higginson. His early identification with the abolition struggle, when it meant political and social proscription—his noble words for freedom with voice and pen—his active vigilance in foiling the slave hunters who darkened Massachusetts' streets—his courageous attempt to rescue Anthony Burns—his efforts to save Kansas—his sympathy and friendship with John Brown—the chivalrous leading of his colored regiment in South Carolina—are a part of anti-slavery history.

One of all these gifts laid upon the altar that God, in his wisdom, has placed in the hands of the colored people. But those who urge to oppose him are not concerned. One keeps the faith and labors to secure to all its right to its hard earnings. The other champions the slowly dying cause of restriction, in which even his eloquence can find no spark of inspiration. It is a contest between freedom and monopoly, and no side issue can change its meaning.

I do not forget the one effective argument used to drag down the colored people into voting for the republican ticket—the unjust suppression of the freedman's vote. But those who urge it know that the election of General Harrison and General Banks can furnish no remedy for it. The surrender of the power to regular suffrage to the southern states was made by a republican administration and tacitly acquiesced in by Mr. Douglass, then marshal under President Hayes. Silent then, he protests now when it is too late to reverse the edict. The chief value of the solid south to the republican party is to intimidate independent voters and cover party designs. Its power to corrupt with is lost. What shall break up that solid south? Have we not tried the race issue long enough? Cannot the good sense of the colored people lead them to see that it can be divided only on other issues, like the tariff or prohibition, where no purpose can be served in excluding complexional votes? It is untrue and misleading to affirm that the two great parties of the country stand for the same ideas as formerly. Old names have lost their meaning and the world has moved on.

I want Colonel Higginson sent to congress because he represents both character and purpose. I want General Banks defeated because he will carry no qualities that are not already a drag in that subservient assembly. We need the measure of a man to represent this district who has convictions and carries always the courage of them. Sincerely,
Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

Mr. Frank B. Thurber sends me the following letter, the printing of which is the best thing I can probably do to carry out his request, as the attention Mr. Thurber has given to matters of state legislation is well known.

NEW YORK, Oct. 30.—I believe you are opposed to Governor Hill so am I; but I am in favor of Lieutenant Governor Jones, who has always been a constant friend of all measures in the interest of the public and if you can say a word in his favor in this week's issue of THE STANDARD it would be doing him justice to a really good man. Yours truly,
F. B. TUCKER.

Lieutenant Governor Jones was present at the meeting I addressed on Saturday night in Binghamton and sat upon the stage. In response to a call at the close of the meeting he made a few remarks, in which he spoke highly of what he had heard, but gently disclaimed the idea that the democracy were committed to more than tariff reform.

One single tax man, who never vet cast a democratic vote, Silas M. Burroughs of Medina, Orleans county, has crossed the Atlantic at considerable loss of time and money, for the sole purpose of casting his vote for Cleveland and Thurman. In this spirit let all work up to the closing of the polls on election day, doing each what best he can

Moneyed men who aspire to a continued monopoly of the fat offices of the land through the potency of the almighty dollar will naturally support David Bennett Hill for governor. Boudie politics would have received a staggering blow between the eyes if Hill had not vetoed the ballot reform bill. —
Hoboken, N. Y. Journal.

WHEN G. STRIKES WERE UNKNOWN.

In 1869 or thereabouts, before we had our miners' unions, strikes as we had in September, 1887, were entirely unknown. If any difficulty arose between employer and employed it was easily adjusted by the miner going to the employer and explaining the matter. And he was sure of a respectful hearing, for the reason that there was more coal to mine than miners to mine it. It was to the employer's interest to keep his men. Before he would allow any men to strike he would make every reasonable effort.

The condition of affairs existed until Franklin B. Gowen, the president of the Philadelphia and Reading coal and iron company, conceived and put into execution a plan to get hold of all the anthracite coal fields of the Schuylkill valley. That was in the

THE THIFF AND ANTHRACITE COAL.

We used to have a protective tariff on anthracite coal; but the mineowners after a while found out that Providence had put the highest kind of a protective tariff upon their coal, for anthracite coal cannot be found anywhere except in six counties in Pennsylvania. So after the cry against this duty had become too strong, it was taken off. But the duty of seventy-five cents on bituminous coal simply means the same duty of seventy-five cents on anthracite coal. The only difference is this: there is a difference in value of one dollar between bituminous and anthracite coal. We have free trade in bituminous coal. If you go to your New York coal dealer and tell him you want a ton of coal, he shows you both kinds, and says you may have the bituminous coal for \$2.50 per ton and the anthracite for \$3.50. Your experience as a coal burner has demonstrated that the anthracite coal is worth a dollar more than the bituminous, and in proportion to the bituminous coal the mine owner can not charge you more than the market value of bituminous coal because Nova Scotia coal will compete with him. Neither can the anthracite mine owner charge you more, because you know the anthracite

The 33,000,000 tons of coal mined in 1881 cost 270 lives and 900 serious accidents. These 270 deaths made 144 widows and 490 orphans, who are dependent not upon the mine owners but upon the charity of their equally poor neighbors.

The last year I worked in a coal mine my daily wages averaged \$1.18 the year round. You can see I am not a weak looking fellow and I am able to hold my own with most men. I was considered a pretty good miner; yet after I had deducted rent and the cost of coal from my earnings, and divided the remainder with my family, I had twenty-one cents per day to live on—and the poor laws in the middle district allow the paupers twenty-three cents per day. (Applause.)

The great capital that these miners have

who makes a miserable living in doing was ing, coming up the road with a bag filled with the coal she had picked from one of these banks. It held about two bushels. Her wage was bent nearly double as she struggled under her heavy load, and had nearly reached home when one of these pauper laborers that the protective tariff don't protect us from came up behind her, touched her on the shoulder, and pointed to the coal bank. She knew what this meant, turned quietly, walked back and dumped the coal where she had picked it. Then she went home empty handed. This man, who is a Hungarian, had been placed there by Cox Bros. & Co. to see that no one took for their own use what was utterly useless to them. How nicely a tariff of seventy-five cents per

me to bestuding markets. (Laughter.) The is very little maxim in the speech we have heard to-night. And I confess to you, friends, that not during this campaign of mine have I heard a speech so calculated to arouse every generous sentiment in the human heart in favor of the oppressed and the downtrodden of this system, as the speech that listened to to-night. (Applause.)

I suppose that somebody will call me, I tell an anarchist for what he has just said. (Laughter.) It would not surprise me if somebody should go away and say Mr. Estlin had tried to incite this audience to mob violence, because he made a vague sort of prophecy that if the condition of things described was not changed before long there might be danger in the anthracite

gion. It seems to me that Mr. Estell's statement is thoroughly justified—that he wonders that those people have been so calm and patient and enduring as they have been. (Applause.) Now you will go and call me an anarchist. (Laughter.) It wouldn't be the first time, if you do. (Renewed laughter.)

I really feel that any speech that I can make to you to-night will be tame and pointless beside the speech to which you have listened. I confess that it has moved me beyond expression, and I don't see how a decent American citizen, after hearing that story from the anthracite coal regions, can have the cold cast-iron cheek to ever say that protection protects a laborer. (Great applause.)

PROTECTION TO LABOR.

Our friends on the republican side of the house are constantly speaking of "protection to labor," as if that were a great blessing. We do not believe in protecting labor. We have all the labor that we want now. (Applause.) We wonder why they do not produce some sort of an argument to show that protection protects the laborer. It is because they know how untrue that is that they always talk about "protection to American labor." But protection does not protect the American laborer in the sense of giving him high wages, and it does not keep the wages that he gets at present from becoming all the time lower, certainly all the time relatively lower to the profits of the employer. (Applause.)

But seriously enough the people who believe in protection have actually succeeded in making a vast multitude of laboring people in this country believe that protection is a benefit to them. They have actually succeeded in making them believe that doctrine without one single fact upon which to base it. (Applause.) Nor have protectionists a sound theory upon which to base it. They have simply humbugged the working people into believing what is not true. (Applause.) The protection doctrine changes its form as easily as the chameleon is said to change its color. (Laughter.) Once it was protection to infant industries—the greatest of them haven't the cheek to call that now. (Laughter.) After they were driven from that position because there weren't any more infant industries in the country, and they knew it, and they knew we knew it, they said it was protection to American capital; but the bravest of them wouldn't go on the stump to-day and say they were clamoring for protection to American capital. (Laughter.) They have changed the doctrine now; it is protection to American labor.

A PURE AND SIMPLE SUPERSTITION.

And that doctrine is a pure and simple superstition. That is to say, it is a belief in something that is not true. (Applause.) Now, some people might be disposed to say, "How does it happen that all these millions of Americans are so really believing in something that is not true, and that has no kind of foundation upon which to rest?" That is the most natural thing in the world. The doctrines that men believe in most intensely are often the doctrines that are not true. (Applause.) When you get a doctrine that men will fight for and will kill others because they won't believe in it, but will persistently refuse to argue, you can make up your mind that that is not true. (Applause.) And the republicans in this campaign have done a tremendous deal of asserting and endeavoring to protect labor; they have done a tremendous deal of persecution in the direction of the laboring people who are disposed to be free traders; they have used all the powers of enormous wealth and constituted authority to cram this doctrine down the people's throats; but in vain have been all the attempts of the Henry George clubs to get one of them to discuss the doctrine. (Applause.)

THE WESTERN MAN'S ARGUMENT.

Let me illustrate what I mean. There was an Englishman who went out west on a tour of pleasure, or for the purpose of buying up enormous quantities of western lands, which the United States government is so unwilling to give to honest settlers and so willing to give to dishonest railroads or to sell to foreigners. This Englishman dropped into a hotel kept by a typical westerner, and when he went to settle his bill he asked what it amounted to. The proprietor told him that the price was \$5.00 a day without potatoes, and \$2.50 a day with potatoes. (Laughter.) "Why," said the Englishman, "bless my soul, your price is exorbitant, sir. I will not pay such a price." "Well," the hotel proprietor said, putting a revolver about a yard long out of his pocket and shaking it uncomfortably near the Englishman, "will you be kind enough to look out of that window at that little graveyard over there, where a great many are sweetly sleeping who thought my prices exorbitant—then tell me how you think that is a reasonable price or not?" The Englishman thought it was. (Great applause and laughter.) "It was not a reasonable price, but the westerner had the drop on him. Very much so it is when a laboring man in this country begins to doubt the orthodox doctrine of protection. Before long he gets an envelope in which his pay is placed, plastered all over with protection doctrines, which is a quiet hint to him that if he wishes to stay in that factory much longer that is the ticket he wants to vote; and the manufacturer, thus having the drop on him, makes him see the beauties of the doctrine of protection. (Applause.) This is the kind of argument that the protectionist will use, and it is the only kind we can get him to use.

THE BELIEF IN A PERSONAL DEVIL.

It has always been so. In the middle ages everybody believed in a personal devil, with horns and hoofs and tail. (Laughter.) Everybody believed in it. Nobody had ever seen him. Nobody had ever felt him. Nobody had even smelt him. (Laughter.) But they all believed in the existence of such a creature, and if anybody doubted it they showed him his picture (laughter and applause); and if they doubted after that, they made it as hot for him in the neighborhood of a stake as his satanic majesty himself could have done. (Laughter.) This is the way that doctrine was built up. Somebody said there was such a creature. Somebody made a picture of him. Then everybody was expected to believe it or be burned. There wasn't any such creature, at least most of us are beginning to think that there wasn't. (Applause.) No evidence was ever produced; no reasonable argument was ever adduced. It was simply a bald assertion with power behind it, and that is what the doctrine of protection is to-day. (Applause.)

THE SUPERSTITION ABOUT WITCHES.

You wonder how it is that this superstition could have been built up in this country; but up to within a comparatively few years ago, and for hundreds of years before that, the most intelligent, the most enlightened, the wealthiest and most respectable people of the country—the republicans, so to speak—believed in witches. The doctors of divinity, the wisest judges that sat on the bench, had an implicit faith in witches, a faith that was demonstrated in the most horrible fashion by their actually burning up old women that they said were witches. (Laughter.) I had the pleasure, in the way of gratifying a curiosity, to read a book not long ago that was written by a famous New England divine to which he carefully described from A to Z all the symptoms of witchcraft. A lizard was described, the process of unwitching the being was described. The whole thing was mapped out as carefully and accurately as the map of the state of New York can be made to-day. Everybody believed it. Why? Simply because the authorities said it was so, and nobody rose up to dispute it. That was all. For hundreds of years the thing was asserted, asserted, asserted, and nobody openly doubted it. And I argued this question from beginning to end, and the people all believed it. You know that is so.

The same thing is true of this doctrine of protection. It has been asserted in this country so long and so persistently by the powers that be, who have the authority and who have the power to make poor people suffer as they are making them suffer in the coal fields of Pennsylvania and in the sweating shops of New York to-day, that multitudes of people believe in that doctrine as they believe in their religion. But just as soon as people begin to argue the question as it has been argued in this campaign, the thing begins to weaken and there cannot be an argument on the subject long before it is doomed to utter extinction.

THE WESTERNER AND THE SHIP.

You have all heard of the westerner that had never seen a ship. He came east here and looked at one of those great black monsters lying in the dock. He was greatly impressed by it, standing as it did, high out of the water, with the masts piercing the sky, a great, ponderous structure. He was taken on board of the ship and looked down one of the hatchways, for the vessel was entirely unloaded. "Why," he said, "the darn thing's hollow." (Great laughter.) This doctrine, that seems to be as solid as the foundations of nations, is being looked into now, and you are going to find out that "the darn thing is hollow." (Applause and laughter.)

The doctrine of the republican party is that protection protects labor. If this is true, then it ought to work not only in the United States, but it ought to work everywhere. (Applause.) So it happens that the United States is the only nation on earth that is protected that pays living wages. (Applause.) There is no other protected nation on the face of this globe that does not pay pauper wages (applause); and when you talk about the pauper wages of Europe you are talking about wages paid in protected countries. (Applause.) Don't forget that.

MOST EMIGRANTS FROM PROTECTED EUROPE.

When Bob Ingersoll made what was considered a stunning reply to somebody who interrupted him when he was talking in the Metropolitan opera house, by saying "if free trade is such a benefit, why is the tide of emigration out of this country?" and said, "Isn't there a man in this audience who does not know that the fewest emigrants come from free trade England (applause), the bulk of them from the protected countries of Europe and from highly protected China, and that the majority of the emigrants go right on to western farms where they are not protected at all?" (Applause.)

What is the story about pauper labor in Europe? Russia is the most highly protected country in Europe; wages in Russia are seven cents a day. (Laughter.) Austria is the next highly protected country in Europe; wages in Austria are but a little higher than they are in Russia. Germany is the next most highly protected country in Europe; in Germany wages are a little higher than they are in Austria. Italy is the next most highly protected country; and in Italy wages are a little higher than in Germany. France is the least protected country in Europe; and in France they are higher yet. England is a free trade country; and she has the highest wages in Europe. (Applause.) Does that look as if protection raised wages? (A voice: "Not much.")

Does that look as if protection was the American policy? Protection is the Russian policy, and the Austrian policy, and the Italian policy, and the policy of Bismarck. Bismarck is a protectionist, workmen in Germany are protected. And pre-eminently protectionist is the policy of the Chinese government. If protection can protect the workmen in heaven's name, why doesn't it bring some relief to Russia and to Chile, which is also a highly protected country.

These are facts. The only apparent fact that is against them is that the United States happens to pay the best wages in the world. But can any sensible man believe that that must be attributed to the protective tariff when the protective tariff fails everywhere else to pay high wages? These are facts; but when people believe in a superstition, facts don't go for anything. (Applause.) You can take a man who believes in a superstition and demonstrate that his superstition is utterly false; demonstrate it as positively as that two and two make four, and he will go right on and believe in his superstition just the same, every time. (Laughter.)

WHY DO MONOPOLISTS WANT A TARIFF?

Workmen, if protection is such a great benefit to you, how does it happen that all the monopolists in this country are so clamorous for that policy? (Applause.) Do you honestly believe that those coal mine owners in Pennsylvania (a voice, "seventy-five cents a ton"), and that these other monopolists, too numerous to mention, are really benevolently concerned for your interests? Do you think that they love you? (Laughter.) Do you think that they are racking their brains to build up a policy in this country that is going to take money out of their pockets and put it into yours? You are not born idiots. If protection raises wages, you may make up your minds that the monopolists would be free traders. (Applause.) The monopolist knows very well that protection takes care of him. He is not afraid that it is going to raise your wages either, because he is going to raise your wages by other means. He keeps you down by other means. (Laughter.)

Mr. Estell, who has touched our hearts tonight, tells us that the miners get thirty-five cents a ton. He also tells us that there are seventy-five cents a ton duty. By that showing the workingman gets half the duty, the monopolist the other half and all the coal. (Applause.) Workingmen, if protection keeps up your wages, or keeps your wages from going down, what is the sense of such an organization as the Knights of Labor? What is the meaning of trades unions? Have you banded yourselves together, do you pay your dues, do you put so much of your time in organizations, and do you run so many risks of being forced out of employment in maintaining these organizations, just for fun? (Laughter.) Is that it?

WHY STRIKE IF PROTECTION PROTECTS?

If protection protects you, why is it necessary that you should go on strikes, that is to say, go into an industrial war with your employers for the sake of keeping from starving to death? (A voice, "Because there is free trade in labor.") That is it; you are right. It demonstrates to anybody who is willing to

see it that there is no protection in protection. All the protection that you get is in your labor organizations. If you think that protection protects you, disband your labor organizations. I dare you to disband your labor organizations! (Great applause.) You will see how soon the heel of oppression will be upon your neck quite as effectually as upon the neck of the pauper labor of Europe. (Applause.) The inconsistency of a laboring man, who believes that protection protects him, and who believes that the next week to protect himself, is perfectly apparent. How a man can believe that protection can protect him when every one in a while, as he does in the coal regions, he has to face the muzzle of a Winchester rifle in the hands of a paid soldier of the monopolist, is more than I can understand. How a man can believe that protection protects him when, with protection and the labor organization he cannot protect himself, is more than I can understand.

AN ARGUMENT THAT WORKS TWO WAYS.

Did you ever think of one peculiar contradiction in the protectionist argument? This is it: First, wages are so high in the United States that we must have protection in order to compete with the low wages of Europe; second, protection makes wages high in the United States. "Cannot you see the fallacy of the thing?" (Applause.) When the protectionist goes to the ways and means committee in congress to get a protection law passed, his argument in congress is this: Wages are so high in this country that we must have protection in order to compete with the pauper labor of Europe. When that same protectionist comes out to you he has the cheek to tell you that protection makes wages high in this country. (Applause.) You might just as well say, we have so much light from the sun in the United States that we need the electric light, and then afterward say the electric light produced the light of the sun. (Laughter.) The argument defeats itself, for nothing can be right side up and bottom side up at the same time.

TESTIMONY OF ADAM SMITH AND HAMILTON.

The protectionist tells the truth to the ways and means committee in congress, namely, that wages are high in this country. That is true. And they always have been high in this country as compared with England or Europe. (Applause.) Adam Smith, who lived years ago, said that wages in the colonies—now the United States—were one hundred per cent higher than in England. Hamilton, who is the very embodiment of the protectionist idea, when he made the first report of the condition of labor in the country, said practically the same thing. Before the revolution wages were higher here; after the revolution wages were higher here. No matter what system of tariff we had, they always were higher. Nobody, however, would say today, in every heyday of the protectionist policy, that there are one hundred per cent higher than in England. Nobody would say that to-day, comparatively with Europe, they are not lower than in Europe. It is a grave question whether there is much difference between the wages in this country and in England.

If protection keeps wages up, how does it happen that it don't keep them up all over the United States in the same way? (Applause.) There is more difference between some states in this Union than there is between this country and other countries. Wages in Colorado are three times as high as in North Carolina; wages in Nevada twice as high as in Alabama; wages in California at least twice as high as in Virginia; and wages in Illinois much higher than in Virginia. If this policy has such a marvelous effect upon wages, why doesn't it have the same effect all over the United States? How do you account for the difference? Does protection do it? How does it happen that a carpenter in New York or Brooklyn gets more wages than a carpenter in Jersey City? If protection protects, why don't it protect all alike?

WHY WAGES ARE HIGH OR LOW.

I said then in order to show you that wages are high or low for other reasons than for protection. (Applause.) The law of supply and demand, the productiveness of labor, control the price of labor in this country and all countries. (Applause.) The quantity of land, the fertility of the soil, the abundance of the laboring population, the abundance of the capital, the abundance of the machinery, the abundance of the tools, the abundance of the raw materials, the abundance of the fuel, the abundance of the power, the abundance of the water, the abundance of the wind, the abundance of the sun, the abundance of the moon, the abundance of the stars, the abundance of the planets, the abundance of the comets, the abundance of the meteors, the abundance of the rain, the abundance of the snow, the abundance of the hail, the abundance of the ice, the abundance of the fire, the abundance of the lightning, the abundance of the thunder, the abundance of the earthquake, the abundance of the volcano, the abundance of the hurricane, the abundance of the cyclone, the abundance of the tornado, the abundance of the storm, the abundance of the fog, the abundance of the mist, the abundance of the dew, the abundance of the frost, the abundance of 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MEN AND THINGS.

In the Tombs police court, on Wednesday last week, Justice Smith being on the bench, Policeman John Kiernan charged Ferdinand Braccio with keeping an overcrowded lodging house. He testified that the prisoner lived at 346 East 110th street, and that he had visited the place and found it overcrowded. Braccio, in defense, swore he did not live at the place described. The justice promptly found the accused man guilty and fined him \$25.

Then appeared another policeman, looking for his prisoner, from whom he had somehow got separated. And who should this prisoner prove to be but Ferdinand Braccio, as to whose wickedness Policeman Kiernan had been testifying. It was evident there must be a mistake somewhere. There being but one Braccio, it was clear that two policemen could not have brought him in separately.

So Policeman Kiernan bethought himself awhile, and at last remembered that his proper prisoner was not a man named Ferdinand Braccio, but a woman named Angela Archello. So he took back what he had said about Ferdinand, and read it about Angela, who was promptly convicted and fined. Then the justice remitted Braccio's fine. And then Braccio was put in jeopardy a second time for the same offense, convicted on the testimony of the second policeman, and again fined \$25.

Only Italians, of course. But still, it might be well to treat even Italians with at least a show of fairness. It isn't wise to encourage the "lower classes" in the idea that police justices' justice is altogether a farce.

The venerable Phineas T. Barnum, who has accumulated a fortune by bringing things from other countries for Americans to look at, is of opinion that if other men are allowed to bring things too, the country will be ruined. What is good for Barnum, he thinks, would be bad for everybody else, which seems like a reflection on the inwardness of the greatest show on earth and a confession of personal selfishness on the part of P. T. B.

Mr. Barnum attended a meeting at Bridgeport the other night, at which he made an explanation and a statement. The explanation was to the effect that his statements are unreliable, and the statement was one which set explanation at defiance.

Mr. Barnum explained that he was never more earnest and sincere than when in 1854 he publicly offered to sell all his real estate in Bridgeport for one-quarter less than its value in case Cleveland was elected president. The proof of the normality of his earnestness and sincerity was that he didn't do it. He would have done it, he says, if in addition to electing Mr. Cleveland the democrats had secured a majority in the senate; and if, in addition to that, they had gone in for free trade; and if, in addition to that again, the value of real estate had declined in consequence. It will be observed that it is necessary to take Mr. Barnum pretty thoroughly to pieces to get at what he means, especially when he is keyed up to his highest pitch of earnestness and sincerity.

Having thus satisfactorily explained away his previous statement, Mr. Barnum proceeded to lay the foundation for another explanation, to be given in 1892. He is willing, so he says, to put up \$50,000 in cash, binding himself to sell every building and every inch of land he owns in Bridgeport for twenty-five per cent less than present prices if Cleveland and a democratic majority in both houses of congress are elected. And he will pay \$5,000 to any man who will secure a syndicate before election day that will put up a like sum, binding themselves to accept this offer. And this time he says he is really the sincerest.

We have not yet heard that any syndicate has come forward to cover Mr. Barnum's \$50,000, and we doubt if any real estate broker will try to organize one. The margin for explanation is too great. There is a limit about that expression, "present prices." Whose prices? Mr. Barnum's? There is nothing to hinder him from adding thirty per cent now, so as to afford sufficient margin for taking off twenty-five per cent hereafter. We can secure sale contracts on plenty of landed property on Mr. Barnum's terms.

If the venerable showman is really and truly in earnest, let him sell his property at auction the day before election, under guarantee that as soon as the democrats shall secure control of both houses of congress in addition to the presidency, he will refund twenty-five per cent of the purchase money. If he will make that kind of an offer, he will find no lack of men to jump at it, and foremost among them will be some of the wealthy protected manufacturers of Bridgeport.

The Memphis grand jury have indicted all the members of the firm of Warren, Jones & Gratz of St. Louis, charging them with unlawfully conspiring to buy up all the bagging in the market, and all the output of the mills, with a view to hindering commerce by advancing the price of bagging. Requisition papers have been applied for and the attorney general promises to push the prosecution with vigor.

It is a good sign that the Tennessee authorities should be moving in this energetic manner. But it is to be feared that their efforts will be practically futile. Even supposing, which is by no means a certainty, that the indicted members of the bagging trust are convicted and properly punished, the effect will be mainly visible in a change in the form of the monopoly. A single corporation will take the place of the combination of corporations, and the oppression will go on as before. The name of the thing will be changed; but the thing itself will be as rampant as ever.

The trust is the creature of the tariff. It is the natural and necessary effort of producers to get the benefit of the monopoly which the protective system expressly undertakes to give them, but which they cannot secure without combination among themselves. It is no benefit to the American manufacturer of

bagging to be secured against British and East Indian combination, unless he is at the same time guarded against the competition of other bagging manufacturers in his own country. And the only possible way in which he can guard against domestic competition is by combining with other domestic manufacturers to form a trust. He must combine, or perish.

Break down the tariff walls, and the trusts will come to a speedy end.

Before the Battle.

As plummet sinks beneath the sea,
My heart doth sink within my breast,
And all forebodings mock at me
While greivous sorrows break my rest;
For, in the future, as I peer,
Grim visions flout athwart the sky,
And creeping horrors gird and flee,
Portending untold agony.

My eyes have seen our peaceful land,
Ere home of roses, lilies and wild,
Become a nation, brave and grand,
The home of freedom, pure and mild.
My heart hath yearned with constant love
For progress in her onward strides,
For our dear banner raised above
Our quiet homes and firesides.

Before mine eyes our noble sons
Have culled a higher path to kings;
The virtue that all civil shuns,
And strictest honor in all things.
Our women, fairest of the earth,
And clothed in modesty the while,
The queens are of far greater worth
And free from vanity and guile.

The wicked governments abroad—
Methinks we scarce conceive our lot—
Are full of rottenness and fraud,
An oozing sore, a foulsome blot,
But we can look with conscious pride
On halls of legislation, clean—
On senators, from whom beside
More humble men were never seen.

But, ah, my heart doth bleed with pain
To think me of the future, drear!
To see our land a waste again,
Our homes in ruins, heaven and serel.
A grievous thing, it seemeth me,
That awesome perils rear without;
That at our very doors there be
Eunuchs, fables, who leer and flout.

My pen doth tremble in mine hand;
My brain doth whirl with awful rage.
The words come slow at my command,
And heart beneath my old age.
To think that England, erst our foe,
Well conquered in the stirring fight,
Should threaten with cheap goods and love
To wipe our nation out of sight.

My waning powers doth now unfold
Me to go forth to battle strife—
There must be men of brain and wit
To thrille the most fearful wrong;
The bones of sires, mouldering,
Will rattle in their sunken graves
If we permit the dastard thing
And yield to the old England's slaves.

Arise! Arise, Columbia's sons!
Ho! patriots to your tents away!
Go forth, with fervent benisons
And meet them fairly in the fray.
Hold up! hold up the price of things!
Pie on the blessed tables steep;
Bescon their paltry offerings;
We must not have our living cheap.

But now mine heart sees cheery light
Betwix the dawn that glows ahead.
We shall escape the dreary night,
Our erst besetted us with dread.
The noble lord of Scotch estates,
The plumed knight, chivalric grand—
The poor man's friends, will guard our gates
And thump this howling free trade band.

PERSONAL.

Mr. C. P. Bolen of Whitman, Mass., has arranged to keep THE STANDARD and all other single tax literature on sale at his cigar store.

Rev. E. H. Kellar of Williamsville, N. Y., is another one of those clergymen, who, having come to see the light of the new faith, are not afraid to say so. Before a ministerial association that met in Troy last month he delivered an important address against the religion of the Maltese cross.

Dr. Simpson J. Harcourt of Canton, Ohio, who has always been a republican, comes out in the Democrat of that place for Cleveland and Thurman because he is an absolute free trader and believes in the equal right of all men to natural opportunities, and, consequently, in the single tax.

Henry Anckerly, formerly with THE STANDARD, and at present in Belfast, Ireland, wrote a communication a few weeks ago to the Belfast Evening Telegraph in which he showed the impracticability and wrongfulness of an income tax and the benefits which would accrue from levying all taxation on land values. He applied his arguments especially to the case of the city of Belfast.

Mr. J. B. Babby of Waynesboro, Pa., is another one of the able single tax speakers who the democrats, in looking around for somebody to grapple with protectionist assertions and sophisms, have invited to take the stand for them. In a recent speech before the democratic club of Chambersburg, Pa., he delighted and astonished his audience with the ease with which he shook the tangle out of things. They did not know that all the while he preached good single tax principles.

Campaign "Standard" Fund.
The publisher of THE STANDARD acknowledges the following contributions to the campaign STANDARD fund for this week:

Alney, Pittsburg, Pa. \$5.00
H. N. Arnold, Pawtucket, R. I. 10.00
O. M. & L. O. M., first installment, 2.00
J. M. Miller and F. L. Tenner sewing society 5.00
W. C. James, Newport, Ky. 1.00
W. McDaniel, New York 2.00
W. Rodgers, 2.00
J. E. Enblen, Omaha, Neb. 2.00
F. & P. Omaha, Neb. 1.00
R. E. Riley, Omaha, Neb. 1.00
A. E. Kinney, Omaha, Neb. 1.00
R. S. Parker, Omaha, Neb. 1.00
W. R. Pickard, Omaha, Neb. 1.00
Josephine Shaw Lowell, New York 25.00
S. B. Shaw, New York 50.00
G. D. Bates, Pittsburg, Pa. 1.00
E. E. Zeigler, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1.00
Clas. O'Neill, New York 8.00
T. M. Remeny, Kingston, N. Y. 1.00
Geo. Broad, Coleridge, N. Y. 5.00
J. B. Cle Elum 5.00
C. D. New York 1.00
Clifford Bohrer, Burlington, Mont. Ter. 2.00

Total for the week: \$325.01
Previously acknowledged: \$349.81
Total to date: \$674.82

Not the Cost of Labor, but Price of Materials, which Prevents Our Manufacturers from Underselling the World.
New York Times.

Here is one of the reasons why Mr. William J. Cooombs, revenue reform candidate for congress in the Third district, favors and does not fear a reduction of the tariff. Describing the export trade in which he is engaged, he says: "We began with hardware, afterward added furniture, housekeeping goods, dry goods, jewelry, carriages and wagons, canned provisions, petroleum, lamps, glassware, plated ware, agricultural implements, and, in fact, almost everything made in this country, with the exception of woolen goods, copper goods, anchors and chains, and a few other articles of which the raw materials proved too large a part of the cost." "Goods which require the most labor and skill in their production are the most easily sold in competition with the foreign goods." A lower tariff means cheaper raw material, a wider market, and a better demand for the American manufacturer of

A PARABLE IN A DREAM.

A few days ago I visited a protectionist friend and stayed over night and dreamed the following dream:

A middle aged negro sat upon a house step on the shady side of a residential street in the large city of B—. It was excessively hot weather, and I did not wonder at him taking comfort in rest from the burden of a heavily laden market basket which was beside him. Something about the man's attitude and his facial expression, his elbows were on his knees, his body bent forward, with his head resting between his palms. At short intervals he surveyed his head from side to side; then he rubbed it with his hands and stamped his foot. On my approach I heard his low, hoarse voice, and gathered from what he said that he was puzzling about the question of the tariff.

I placed my hand upon his shoulder and asked if I could give any help on the subject. He lifted his head and seemed much surprised by my sudden attention. His great thought still stood on his dusky brow. "Let me help you," I repeated, and then without more ado he drew a long breath and opened out his difficulty.

It was soon plain. His stumbling block was as to who paid the tariff tax—the foreign manufacturer or the Americans? He said that he had heard public speakers say that foreigners paid the tax, while other speakers had declared that it fell upon our own people, and chiefly upon the poor people, at that.

I replied that I would soon set him right, and asked him if he would permit me to empty his basket. He consented, and watched me narrowly. I took the empty basket in my hand and said: "Now let us play at buyer and seller. I have got this basket to sell and you want to buy it."

"All right," he said, and began to wonder. But I replied, "Don't hurry too much, for I am not quite ready to ask a price. I want you to know where and from whom I got this basket. It is one of half-a-dozen I bought from a man who had a hundred or more. He got those hundred dozens from a warehouse in which there were thousands, all belonging to a foreign manufacturer. This manufacturer had sent them to his agent over here. And we will suppose now that all custom houses and tariff duties were once abolished, and those baskets, of which this is one, were brought to the warehouse without being taxed. Well, now, I will sell you one wicker basket for one dollar."

A little dumb show took place, after which I picked up the basket again for the second time. My friend looked at this time as if he supposed baskets to bear a duty of twenty-five cents. Then the basket was offered for \$1.50. "Of course," I said, "I want my profit on the basket, as usual, and five cents profit on the twenty-five cents that was the tariff duty." The transaction was completed and I asked: "Who pays the tax?" The duke's eyes shone and his mouth extended nearly from ear to ear. I left him sitting on the step, cooling his head, and he took a more rapid turn.

ALFRED CROSS.

An Extraordinary Mathematical.
BROOKLYN.—One of those marvelous statistical authorities, who do so much to befog the minds of protectionists, has hung some protean trap on the dilapidated scarecrow built up of wool to scare the farmers. He announces himself with the blare of a trumpet as a "Vesey street assistant." His calculations are so evident that they would answer themselves if people would think on the subject. He evidently believes they will not, or he would scarcely have ventured on anything so self-contradictory. Taking it for granted that the price of wool will be reduced one-third if the Mills bill passes, he calculates that the value of the wool clip of the United States would be reduced from \$90,000,000 to \$60,000,000. Then by a slight of hand he makes out a net loss to each farmer of \$3,536, estimating the wool clip at over 200,000,000 in value. He then suggests that the farmers would transfer their loss to their laborers (whom he computes at 1,477,659) by reducing wages \$2.4 per annum, thus reducing their own loss to four times over. This makes the loss to the laborer \$36,000,000, and adds to that the supposed loss to the farmer, \$30,000,000, less the reduced cost of clothing, \$13,402,000, or \$17,598,000, making, with the \$90,000,000 loss to the laborer, a loss to the agricultural community of more than \$113,000,000.

If our friend the assistant, will spend a little of his marvelous ingenuity in making it plain to a simple public how he manages to deduct \$113,500,000 from \$30,000,000 he will gratify a laudable curiosity.

Will our friend allow us to remind him that he has hung to the winds the central theory of protectionists that what is taken out of one pocket and put in the other, so far from being a loss, is a positive gain. If taking \$100,000,000 people for the benefit of 2,000,000 hurts to the detriment of all except a leading from its number for the benefit of the state, the number cannot improve. It is all in the family, you know.

The assumption that there would be any reduction in price of wool is, however, altogether unfounded. The injury inflicted on the wool manufacturers as well as on the consumers, does not arise from enhanced cost of ordinary wools. We do not believe their price is materially increased. The injury is inflicted by excluding the fine qualities of wool that cannot be produced here, but which are necessary for the production of the most costly and profitable fabrics, and by loading the coarse carpet wools with a tax that increases the price of carpets and limits our market. The result is that \$48,000,000 worth of manufactured articles are imported, which would be made here if they could be made profitably. The free importation of these wools would thus double or triple the product of our mills, enabling our manufacturers to keep their mills at work the year around, and increasing the demand for the home grown wools.

The fact is such protectionists talk would long ago have been hooted out of existence if protectionists were not the most illogical and glib dupes in existence. They remind one of an ancient cartoon representing a fox preaching to a congregation of geese in the words, "Dear brothers, how greatly I long for you all in my bowels." S. W. LADD.

That Go-West-Young-Man Advice.
SAN DIEGO, Cal., Oct. 15.—For the edification of those in the east who contemplate taking Horace Greeley's advice of "Go west, young man," I herewith submit for their consideration the following advertisement clipped from a local newspaper:

A YOUNG MAN WHO HAS BEEN A BOOK-keeper wishes to change his mode of life and work to a more active one. Address C. E. Jones, care of the Standard, New York.

Now, then, California is the best wage-paying country in the world, yet even here there are men compelled to offer themselves for slaves' wages. My advice to those who depend upon their labor for a living is to remain where they are and fight for free trade and the single tax.

GEORGE B. WITALEY.

Illinois is All Right.
PEORIA, Ill.—All George men here are supporting Cleveland. Look out for a revolution in Illinois.

J. W. BURTON.

A MISSIONARY IN PENNSYLVANIA.

A Single Tax Man Who Does Some Organizing Makes Some Speeches and Sends Goods Seeks.

MAHANOY CITY, Pa., Oct. 27.—I reached this city to-day, addressed a meeting and helped to organize a single tax club. The following officers were elected: President, J. N. Beck, secretary, Robert Richardson, treasurer, Thomas Donnelly. The title of the organization will be the Free trade club, a name significant of the growing anti-protectionist sentiment of the workers.

Our folks at Shenandoah organized a club on Wednesday, with Morris Marsh, president; Thomas Potts, secretary; Robert Lewis, treasurer. At Locust Dale one was organized on Thursday at a meeting which I addressed. The officers will be elected this week.

From my experience so far, I have convinced that an organizer to call and address public meetings and give single tax clubs a start is all that is needed to give the single tax movement a mighty impulse in the coal regions. The conditions favor the spread of our doctrines. In Mahanoy valley there are 4,500 Irish voters who have been driven from Ireland by landlordism, only to find it as flourishing here. The Philadelphia coal and iron company own almost the entire valley, and I am told, will not sell even so little as a building lot in it. The company owns the land, the mines, and the mines, and the people who live in the valley are tenants at will, and the houses and towns are worthy of the ragged edge of civilization.

The people are crowded as much as in the large cities, and the very poor lead as wretched an existence. In Mount Carmel there is a small two-roomed house that accommodates eighty-seven inmates—thirty-six men and one woman.

In Shenandoah I entered houses occupied by Italians. The floors were uncarpeted and muddy, the furniture scant and of the rudest kind. One lower front room had a bedstead made of rough pieces of timber. In a back room a half-dozen poor, begrimed wretches were grouped around a stove. A woman sat by cooking some meat and potatoes in a frying pan. When the meal was ready each would reach into the mess with his dirty fingers. No other worker but the Hun or Chinese can hope to understand these people in competition for the work which protection so beneficently provides.

The free trade cause is making head here. A protectionist and local leader lately to Shenandoah the principal speaker denounced protection on the ground that it was antagonistic to the moral principles on which the prohibition party is founded, and asserted that neither one of the old parties favored free trade. That is an opinion all democrats do not share. They had a meeting at Fine Grove about a week ago. One of the speakers, afraid of frightening the workmen present, declared that the democrats were not free traders. At once the response came from his hearers, "Yes, we are free traders." After that you may have seen the talk took a more rapid turn.

Single tax men say that a bold free trade campaign in this country would have proved far more successful than the present one. Nevertheless, really, the democratic congressional candidate will defeat Brann, his protectionist adversary.

I expect to address meetings at Delano, Frackville, and Shenandoah this week and arrange for others.

Chicago Mayor and the Street Railroads.
A Political Item.

CHICAGO, Ill., Oct. 26.—We have the boldest and wisest mayor in all the world in Chicago—a deep thinker within, and so terse and pointed in his remarks.

During the street car strike here, when two-thirds of all Chicago was looking at him and from their homes or places of business for a ride in an omnibus or a hack, and when he was proposed by those who were in the city, that as the railroad company had not received a cent for not running its cars, it was certain that they would provide the city council should appoint a receiver to run it and that the city should eventually buy up the plant and operate it for the benefit of the public. One of our citizens, a prominent man, a representative of our business and mercantile interests, gave to me a copy of a letter from the mayor, reminding this of the case.

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It was a good joke, wasn't it? And that's the way the good people of Chicago take the matter. They get up grievance committees, indignation meetings, talk of starting opposition companies, and the like, but, O no! they really couldn't think of turning socialist.

The political situation in Illinois is hopeful. Politics are done on a grand scale here, and a strong man, especially with the laboring classes, and the more influential labor leaders here—such men, for instance, as George Schilling, Joe Greenleaf, John Z. White, Mark Crawford—men who have for years past been recognized as labor leaders, are this year out boldly for free trade.

J. H. GIBBS.

Another Free Trade Congressional Candidate.

OMAHA, Neb.—Inclosed find contributions to THE STANDARD campaign fund in amounts and by persons named below. All are wage workers who would give ten times as much as they have if their wages afforded them more than a living.

There is an awakening in Omaha. Individual efforts have been successful, and the fact that the prospects are now favorable for a large and vigorous single tax organization. Our support of Cleveland makes many democratic conversions to the single tax cause, while not a few republicans are joining our ranks through the free trade door. The democratic candidate for congress in this district, Hen. J. Sterling Morton, is making an able and fearless free trade fight. The republican majority in Nebraska will suffer from the tariff debate now going on all over the state.

JOHN H. EBBLEN.

Collect Lessons Among the Mills.

PATERSON, Passaic County, N. J., Oct. 26.—Four or five of the single tax men of this county have by this time seen that our true policy is to help the democrats. In 1884 the county went republican by about 1,500 majority, in 1886 by about 1,400, this year the tariff reform and single tax sentiment will probably give the democrats the victory.

The wages scale is nearly extinct. The establishment of "mixers" in Pennsylvania by the silk manufacturers who go there to obtain the benefit of "pauper" wages, has contributed very largely to this result, and the contemplated removal of one of our largest locomotive works to the west, the region of high wages, has also helped. The two facts have shown the workers that wages out of the tariff controversy, and as kindergarten object lessons in political economy, they come at a good time.

Here is another—A year ago lots could be bought in the southern section of the city for \$50 to \$100. The Cooke locomotive machine works bought land there and began to build.

Although their foundations are hardly any yet, the lots already bring from \$20 to \$30. The workers in these shops who do not get any advantage from the removal of the works to cheaper land are beginning to appreciate what the single tax involves.

Last month the Adams mills announced a reduction in the weavers' wages. The weavers struck, were out two days and more, going back at the old price. Some two weeks after, the cut in wages was again announced and before the weavers went out the celebrated petition to the government to protect the American weaver was brought into the mill, and the men who had struck and were preparing to strike again against a reduction in their wages were asked to sign it, in order that American wages might be maintained. This was an eye opener even for the "bourbons" whose wages run from \$7 to \$10 per week, and their faith in the tariff as a means of protection to wages is fast wavering. And so the work goes on.

E. W. NELZLS.

THOSE PAY ENVELOPES.

Here is what is printed on the "pay envelope" which the republican national committee has been ordering in thousands and distributing among the protectionist manufacturers to use when paying wages to their "protected" workmen:

No. _____
To _____
For _____
By _____

A Question of WAGES AND BREAD.
The One Issue of This Campaign:
Should American Wages and Prices be kept up by Tariffs and Duties, or should they be lowered to the level of the wages and prices of the world?

The reverse side reads:

Do the American Workingmen want Protection or Free Trade?
The question rests entirely with them. Let them decide on November 3rd.

UNDER PROTECTION
The wage earners of the United States have to content themselves with less money than all other wage earners in the world.

What the Democrats are Circulating.

The following circular, first put into use by the Manning, Bowman & Co. corporation of Meriden, Conn., by being posted on every door of the factory, is now being sent out broadcast to large employers of labor by the democratic national committee.

We have no desire to attempt to influence you by covering your windows with pay envelopes with printed instructions concerning the politics of the campaign, or, just as appropriately, what church you shall attend, or the use you make of your money. Let each of us decide for himself. But we are free to think and act for ourselves. We are standing by the company in discharging their business obligations during the past three months, and now we propose to stand by you in discharging your political obligations. We are not asking you to vote for any particular candidate, but we are asking you to vote for the party which will vote for the single tax. Use your own reasoning faculties. Do not vote the democratic, republican or prohibition ticket to please your employers or because your neighbors are doing so. We know you will not sell your vote, but do not make a trade of any kind or be induced to stay away from the polls. Maintain the courage of your political convictions according to your consciences. We trust every man will vote conscientiously. Use your own reasoning faculties. Do not vote the democratic, republican or prohibition ticket to please your employers or because your neighbors are doing so. We know you will not sell your vote, but do not make a trade of any kind or be induced to stay away from the polls. Maintain the courage of your political convictions according to your consciences. We trust every man will vote conscientiously. Use your own reasoning faculties. Do not vote the democratic, republican or prohibition ticket to please your employers or because your neighbors are doing so. We know you will not sell your vote, but do not make a trade of any kind or be induced to stay away from the polls. Maintain the courage of your political convictions according to your consciences. We trust every man will vote conscientiously. Use your own reasoning faculties. 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